1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 In one of these games called *narthpimi*, a boy squeezes
526 through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over
177 two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nòdrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *eln*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kàrildlapimi*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilala*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance.

At many villages there is a large globular stone called *tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukittthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings.

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

c 524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the
517 legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 204

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys' game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241

They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 437 439 427

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus ncí, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Metz's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

577 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ildta*, which is played as follows:—

526 A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ildta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Nürthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Küridlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B[7]

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows:—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

* *Toda: Pútkuli.*

7 [Category 16, Ap. 117-128. — Analysis]

but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pûtkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bêti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pûtkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peîkis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kêd*, wrapped in a new *pûtkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kêdmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hoh! hoh! êr kar ettamâ*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kêd*, covered by the *pûtkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kêd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakâran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchâyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/2 [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE X

526

TODAS AT PLAY

285 415 No. V.—Mûkuri (ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓ). Four baskets, of sizes, to hold grain, made by Toḍas and Koṭas of bamboo and rattan. Annas 16.

322 415 No. VI.—Pun (ⲡⲟⲩⲛ). Two milk vessels, of sizes, for milk and curds, made by Toḍas and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of rattan. 6 annas.

No. VII.—Pâl (ⲡⲁⲗ). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Toḍas and Badagas of small bamboos and bound with rattan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—Kuṛal. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toḍa men and women. Rings made by Koṭas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

● 526 No. X.—Sticks and "Cul" used in the game *Tâṭu*. *See page 7.* Made by Toḍa men. Gratis

[Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

While the funeral game was in progress, the men showed off their prowess at a game (eln),* corresponding to the English tip-cat, which is epidemic at a certain season in the London bye-streets. It is played with a bat like a broomstick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. The latter is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out fields.

At the Muttanâd mand, we were treated to a further exhibition of games. In one of these, called narthpimi, a flat slab of stone is supported horizontally on two other slabs fixed perpendicularly in the ground so as to form a narrow tunnel, through which a man can just manage to wriggle his body with difficulty. Two men take part in the game, one stationing himself at a distance of about thirty yards, the other about sixty yards from the tunnel. The front man, throwing off his mantle, runs as hard as he can to the tunnel, pursued by the 'scratch' man, whose object is to touch the other man's feet before he has squeezed himself through the tunnel. Another sport, which we witnessed, consists of trial of strength with a heavy globular stone, the object being to raise it up to the shoulder; but a strong, well-built-man—he who was entrusted with slaying the funeral buffalo—failed to raise it higher than the pit of the stomach, though straining his muscles in the attempt. A splendidly made veteran assured me that, when young and lusty, he was able to accomplish the feat, and spoke sadly of degeneration in the physique of the younger members of the tribe.

Mr. Breeks mentions that the Todas play a game resembling puss-in-the-corner, called kâriâlapimi, which

* Called by Breeks tam, [which, Dr. Rivers suggests, is a Badaga name.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kumṛjaff's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his children though legally they belong to the other moiety. kumṛjaff, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes *first*, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɔdɨj moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the tɔrʃaɣ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the tɔrʃaɣ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:-dairies, which now belong to the tɔrʃaɣ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kannip (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumpaiⁿ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenods (31), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacmund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. None of these new garments may be worn when the men go inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near